X 881 625 [136] /838 cont./ activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkē·a. This is the name for Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

X 881 625 302 In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

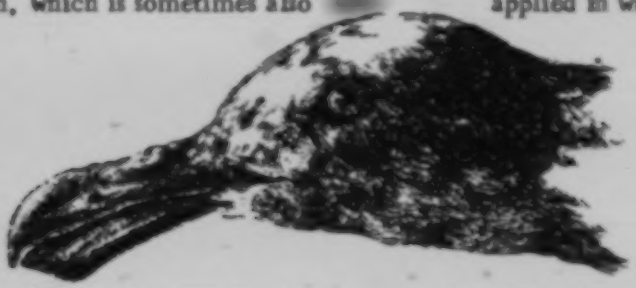


Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. [292] As a headdress the winefkē·a properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yēkamuś /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxēl /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

X 881 625 The particular duty of the winefkē·a is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/846 cont./

X881 781 matter whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the xé'xaus rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, Santiago announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Koppers (a):49 stepped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

X881 ● 292 The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the [825] peritoneum of the small albatross, dáčalux (Diomedea melanophrys), or of the male Molina goose, ŕékus (Chloëphaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. On either end of this strip of skin the Yamana knot a short tendon. Every participant wears this hapaxél as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the kóčel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215).

X 891 292

/846 cont./

In former times when the Yamana were not yet wrapping their bodies in the disgusting rags of European culture, they used longer strips of skin covered with down, which they drew over the body and limbs in different directions. Still more often they made pads of small bunches of down (266) which they /847/ wound

266. To this day the Halakwulup have adhered to the long, narrow strips of skin with down feathers, and they use these at the youth initiation as well as during the men's secret ceremony. See Figs. 9 and 10 in Gusinde (bb).

with tendons and braided. They were known as kwaywáiweni. The hapaxél was formerly also made in this fashion. In modern times this is no longer done, because this decoration could not be put on over European clothing, nor would it be effective. The hapaxél has no significance other than as ornamentation.

X 891 293

The second indispensable object which every participant has and which he makes for himself at the very beginning is the dance staff. Its length varies between 50 centimeters and 70 centimeters. At the lower, pointed end it is about the thickness of one's thumb; toward the top it is a little thicker. The surface, freed of bark, is scraped quite smooth with a mussel shell. It is first smeared with a thick layer of white color, and after it is dried, red lines, circles, and dots are drawn on it. Usually a small ring of bird skin with down is also applied a short distance from the point and the end (cf. Plate 3).

During the singing and dancing the Yamana hold this stick crosswise and grasp it lightly with the fingers of both hands. They swing it up and down gently in time to the music and in very lively fashion during exciting songs. When the overseer or another man gives the customary instructions to the uwáala, he grasps the staff at its thick end, holds it upright on the ground, and leans his hand lightly upon it. The leader also does this when he gives orders, and similarly every man who tells a myth and every candidate when he is requested to take up this staff. The dance staff thus expresses a certain formality.

X 111 302 /960 cont./ the same drawings for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they are not exclusively reserved for the ałwélo. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X 111 292 The adult participants really should always wear their hapanéñ, the narrow headband (p. 603), the sponsor attends to this duty for the candidate. He himself makes the hapanéñ for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /961/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X 111 293 Besides the hapanéñ, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X 111 292 293 /962/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681) that the čiéyaus hut, according to the original Yamana conception, actually represents an alčin, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapanéñ symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alčin ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the čiéyaus constantly wear the hapanéñ and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.—Analyst]

I. Gamble--714 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

X
311
.A72
302

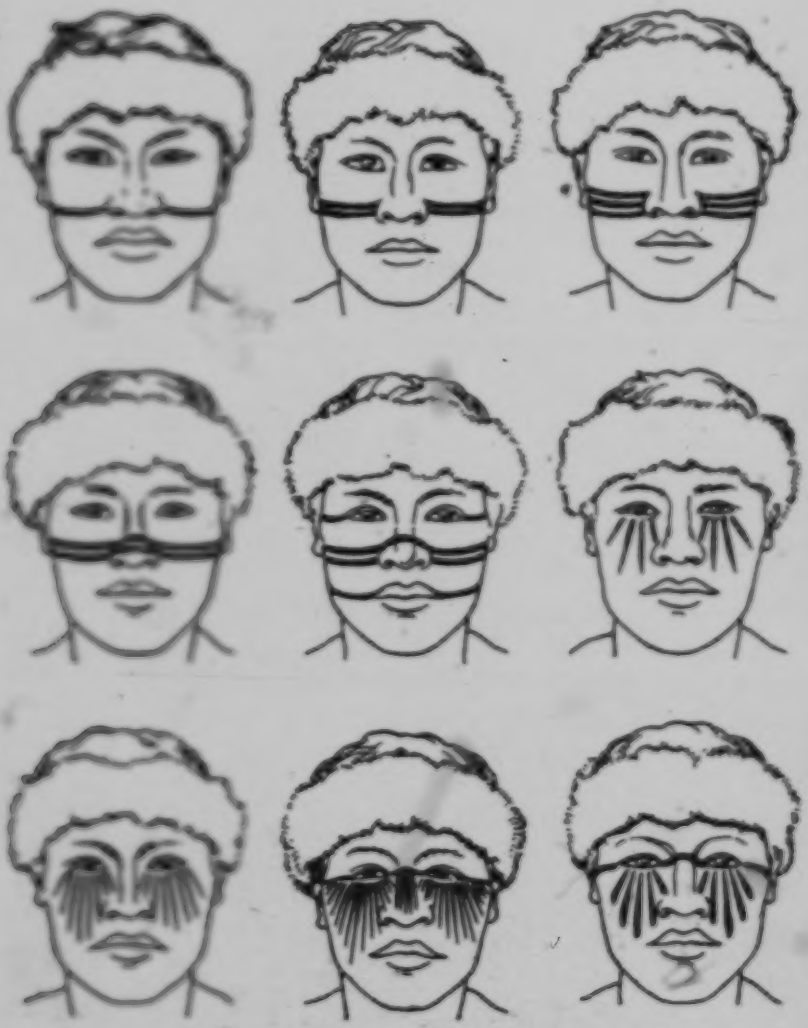


Fig. 84. Facial Painting of the Candidates.

/1328 cont./

X575 performance, the leader begins with a talk. It is his duty to win over the men who are suited for the role of a spirit and who must soon commence rehearsing. It is no less important to select the lads who may be uĭwā́ala on this occasion. The unanimous agreement of the influential old men decides this question. In former times a chap must have attended the čiéxaus twice; nowadays there is more leniency in this respect, and the old men are satisfied if the youth has submitted to the initiation once. Actually, none of these lads is refused admission if he is halfway discrete and regarded as trustworthy. If suitable boys are present in the camp, the old men soon agree to admit them. Unlike the čiéxaus, however, the kína can take place even if uĭwā́ala are lacking. Since in the past few decades a dependable woman may also be invited into the secret hut, the men consult on this, too, at the beginning of the affair.

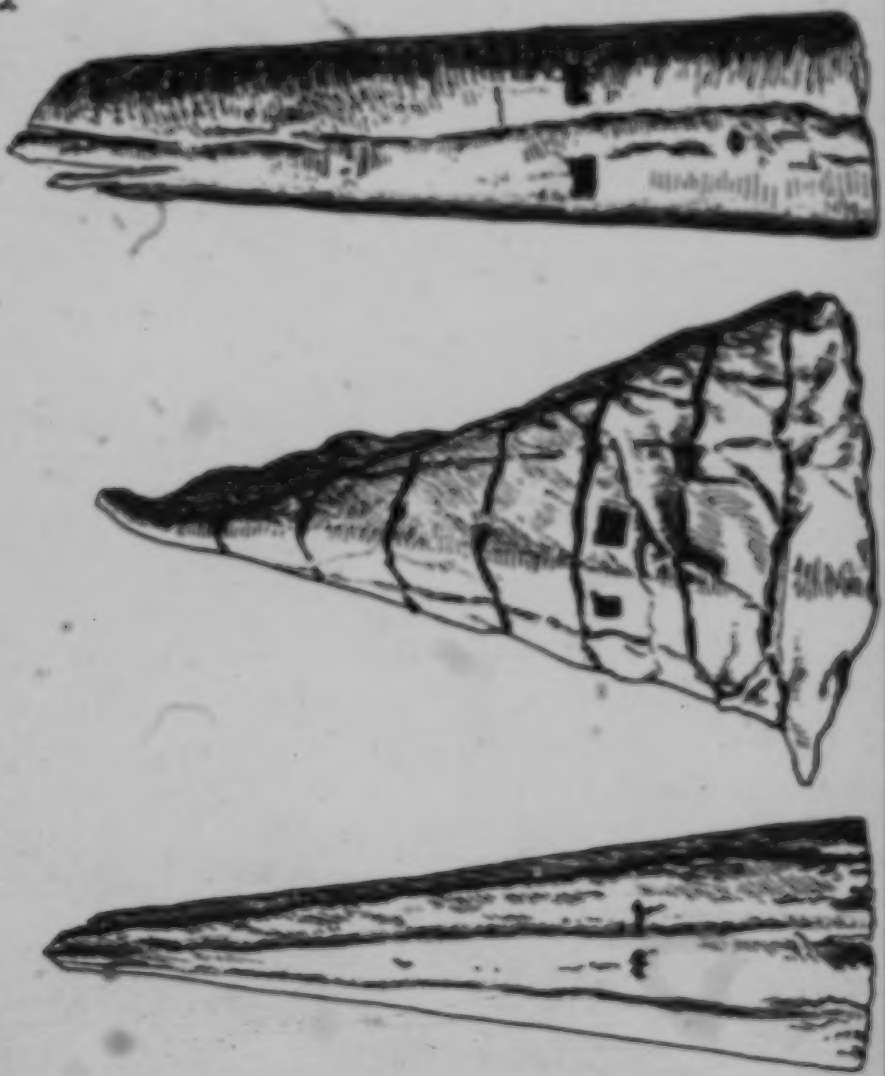
X575 292 Preparations are immediately begun for the appearance of the so-called spirits. This requires large amounts of pigment, which each man has secretly brought along. Masks are also indispensable. A large piece of bark cut in the shape of a longitudinal triangle is used in making them. The free edges are tied together near the peak with whalebone; the lower edge, which rests on the shoulders of the wearer, forms a shallow arc. /Pl. 4 appears here./ /1329/ At the proper height small holes are cut out for the two eyes. This conical-shaped mask of bark is called ā́jyuĭu hílix (278) and is 50 to 60 centimeters high. If for any reason the

278. Originally this term meant: bark quiver for arrows, also quiver made of leather (p. 154). BD:260 confirms this one designation for quiver and mask.

required pieces of bark cannot be obtained, a piece of leather may be substituted for the mask. The latter is called uĭmī́na and has the same shape and size as the bark mask, but the lower part is usually wider and the whole piece comes to a sharp point at the top. Compare uĭamī́na in BD:113. Bridges (i):17 mentioned the masks and called them "barkhats" /cited in English/. If the Kina celebration is prolonged, the bark masks must be repeatedly

1: Gusinde--1226 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5116 Yahgan 5116

X
575
.292



Masks from the Kina Hut.

/1329 cont./
X 575
292
replaced, for in the heat of the hut fire they unavoidably dry out and shrink to such an extent that they can no longer be used. Consequently the leather masks are more suitable and durable. A few of these masks suffice for the varied program, since only the painting needs to be changed to portray the various spirits. These masks are carefully protected and usually lie in the inner section of the Great Hut where they are handy for each man who wants to use them. A brief comment should be inserted here. Because of the special significance of the masks, children are not permitted to play with objects that resemble a mask or suggest one (p. 580).

X 575
While the discussions and immediate preparations are going on in the Great Hut, the mental attitude and the outward behavior of the women in the camp undergo a very apparent change. They actually have a slightly uncanny feeling, as though they were threatened and alarmed; they run back and forth restlessly and excitedly, as though at their wit's end, they talk to one another, first in one hut and then in another. By and large the thought of the approaching Kina with its many spirit-appearances has a trying and oppressive effect on all the women; some of them scarcely dare leave their huts and appear outside. The frightened behavior of the women has an effect on the children who huddle together in the hut and anxiously watch their mothers. This state of affairs lasts until shortly before sundown.

The women and children who are quietly and expectantly waiting in their dwellings have no idea what the men are doing in the secret hut after the first smoke appeared. Not a sound, not a sign from the leader reaches the camp for long hours. It is this uncertainty that makes the women and children so extremely tense. Meanwhile, however, the men in the Great Hut are not idle. They are preparing for the first appearance of the spirits. In March, 1922, the men present began their painting about five [302] in the afternoon. Before that they had painted their completely naked bodies. /1330/ Now they undress except for a small covering. To begin with they paint themselves with white diagonal stripes a handbreadth wide on limbs and torso. Toward six o'clock the leader comes out and stands beside the Kina hut, demanding in a loud voice that the women of the camp come out of their

/1350 cont./

exactly with that experienced by all the ulwéla without exception in the ʔiléwe, although the teachings and exercises are much more extensive in the youth initiation (p. 1117). Here they are offered the complete cycle of stories woven around the Yaléwe family. They heard some of them earlier in the ʔiléwe (p. 967).

/1351/ The chosen candidates (p. 1214), without discrimination, are conducted to the Great Hut with the formality described above (p. 1232). Women and children are supposed to learn from direct observation which young man has been granted the privilege of participation. They are told that the spirits demanded this or that chap as ulwéla. Not to comply with such a request would put all the men in great danger. The man who accompanies the candidate to the Great Hut as a rule continues to act as a sort of sponsor. As such he chooses his place beside his protégé, observes and instructs him constantly, and takes charge /Fig. 96 appears here/ of his food and sleep. The two are not as closely united as are candidate and sponsor in the ʔiléwe, for the daily program and everything that goes on in the Kiña are by no means as strictly observed and carried out as in the ʔiléwe. No duties are attached to the office of sponsor beyond the duration of this celebration. Usually a relative willingly offers to put himself at the disposal of the ulwéla. there is no need for a detailed discussion of the matter between the participants. The leader is satisfied when some man offers to be the sponsor in the case of each ulwéla selected. no particular aptitude is required for this service.

Like the ulwéla of the ʔiléwe, those of the kiña are also externally marked by a painting which is restricted to the face. In olden times the face was evenly rubbed with white pigment, and a red stripe, the width of a finger, was painted all the way across the center of the forehead. Now, however, as has been the case for an indeterminable length of time, each candidate is given instead a forehead decoration resembling a diadem. It is made of a band of leather about 55 centimeters long and scarcely three centimeters wide, the ends of which taper slightly before they are knotted together (298). It is thickly smeared with white pigment

298. Each end of this leather band is split in

L Gumade--1287 E-5 (1810-1954) 1897 S146 Yahgan S146

/1301 cont./

X
575
B83
242

the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1302/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates.
Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the Youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 86, b (p. 790).

X
575
243

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yahgan stories, the candidate holds

/1389 cont./

maintain that their huts "differ by having the upper part cone-shaped rather than spherical" /translated from Spanish/. See the general description of the dwellings on p. 9 .

is sometimes inconspicuously given precedence, and the men willingly follow his decisions. The whole neighborhood expects him to be far more willing to help and more unselfish than other persons.

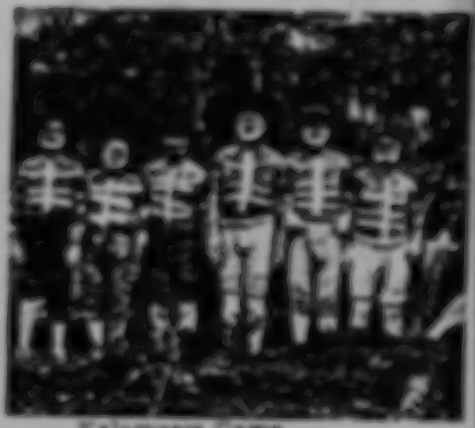
Whenever the yĕkamuĭ is working toward some goal in connection with his actual calling, he puts on an ornament which he alone is permitted to wear. This outward token is intended to show that the guardian spirit associated with him has taken possession of him and he is now acting with this spirit and may not be disturbed in any way by anything around him. Naturally, everybody who sees that the yĕkamuĭ is busy at his calling behaves accordingly (322). As Despard (b):717 briefly states, he

322. What Bridges (b):237 has said in this connection is wholly misleading: "In order to give the appearance of age, they were in the habit of rubbing their heads with tumrapu" /translated from Spanish/, namely, red earth.

wears as a "distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face" /cited in English/. The feather ornament, apawĕ̆ra, resembling a diadem, is characteristic. They use the finger-long, pale gray feathers on the underside of the body of the night heron tŭ̆wux (Nycticorax /1390/ obscurus), arranged close together in three woven strands of thin tendons. The yĕkamuĭ ties this ornament around his head like a headband, with the feathers pointing downward. When he removes his apawĕ̆ra, he rolls it up and keeps it in a small leather pouch so that it will not be damaged. He prefers white pigment for painting his face and entire head. It is obviously an exaggeration when Bridges (e):332 reports that the medicine men "made their heads white with chalk every morning." This would differentiate them from all their countrymen, which is not their intention. Instead,

1: Gestede--1454 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 0005 Yelgen 0001

Kina Hut



Kalanjaia Dance

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

Kima Spirit

Kima Spirit

Kima-colonwdia

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

9: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
5885 Yahgan 5885

[illegible] finished by beavers, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our figurations show the lodge erected in

FIG. 98.—a, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2360); length of stick, 3 in. b, Kulp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red, white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. xiv, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. vi, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

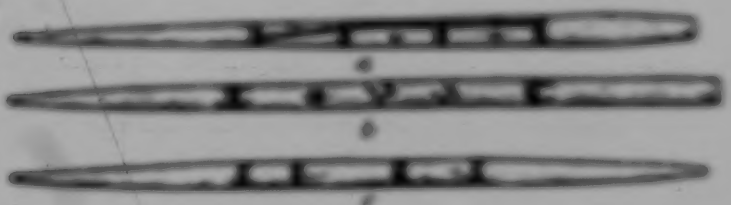


FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of a, 24 in. (141337)

Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in pl. xv and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of horse-phone headbands (*kapeuáru*) worn by the officials, kelp-grass dress headbands (*gagai*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*kelel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*a'mattáwis*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tawaiáldo*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SMS Yahgan SMS

292

[p. 168-A]